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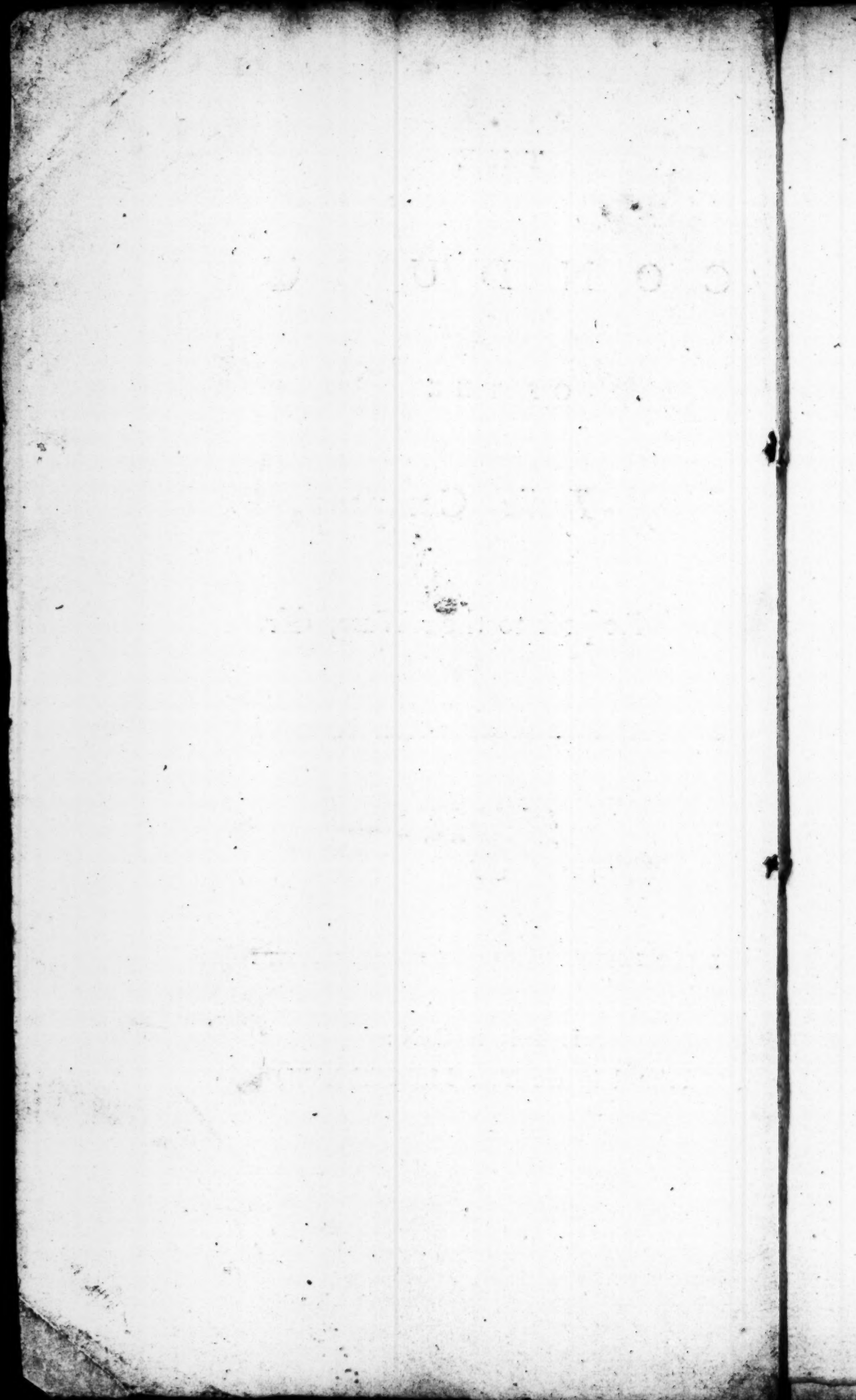
East - India Company,

With Respect to their Wars, &c.



L O N D O N :

Printed in the Year M.DCC.LXVII.





THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
East-India Company.

COMMERCE with distant Nations under despotic and irregular Governments, like those of *India*, always has, and must be supported by a military Force. Long Experience of this Fact pointed out the Necessity of carrying on the Trade to the *East-Indies* by Companies, which uniting a large Capital enabled the Merchants to stand
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the Shocks which their Trade was exposed to and the whole History of this Trade, from its earliest Establishment, is that, of a constant Struggle against the Oppressions of the *Indian* Governments. I mean here the Trade to the Continent of *India*, governed by the Emperors of *Indostan*, commonly called the *Mogul*, which was at first carried on without any other Settlement than a temporary Lodging in an hired House. Our Privileges were not precisely determined; at *Surat* we paid 3 and a half *per Cent.* Customs; at *Bengal* we pleaded an Exemption from all Duties, in Virtue of a Phirmaund from the *Mogul*, granted in the Year 1673; but the Words in which it was expressed bearing different Constructions, it was never fully admitted by the *Bengal* Government, where it was necessary to make large Presents to the Nabob and his Officers, to silence their Claim to Duties. The *English* were nevertheless exposed to very heavy Exactions

actions from the Subahs and Governors of Provinces. These Inconveniencies increased ; for being sometimes disappointed of their Returns, sometimes detained by the Monsoons, the Merchants with whom they contracted failed in their Contracts, and fixed Agents became necessary to recover their Debts. These Entanglements rendered them more dependent on the Country Government, from whom they could obtain no Redress but by Bribery. Complaints were frequently sent to the Mogul, which were more or less attended to, according to the Degree of Favour the Provincial Governor was in at Court ; sometimes they were redressed, at other Times they were the more oppressed ; so that it appears by the Company's Records that the Sums extorted at *Surat*, from 1661 to 1683, were 13,56,450 Rupees, and very considerable Sums had been likewise taken from them in *Bengal*, which fell very heavy on the narrow Capital then em-

employed in the *India* Trade. This determined the Company to redress themselves, and in 1688 they sent a very considerable Land Force to *Bengal*, and a strong Squadron to *Surat*; the Squadron blocked up the Port of *Surat*, and took the Ships of the *Indian* Merchants, by which they indemnified themselves for their Claims, and the Land Forces acted successfully in *Bengal*, and established a Settlement at *Calcutta*. In 1691-2 the Company obtained the Mogul (*Aurungzebe's*) Phirmaund, exempting the *English* Trade from Duties, on paying the annual Sum of 3000 Rupees. The *Bengal* Government, sensible of the Benefit which the Provinces reaped from our Trade, and conscious that they could not afford that Protection which it required, when the Country was embroiled in Wars, gave us, in 1696, Permission to fortify our Factories. From this Period to the Year 1717, the *English* Trade and Privileges underwent Variety
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of Changes; sometimes the Government would admit their Right to a free Trade; at other Times they disputed it, and made them either pay Duties, or heavy Sums under the Denomination of Presents to the Nabob and his Ministers; but if the Demands on them were made at a Time when they had a good Force in the River, they blocked up the *Ganges*, and brought the Government to Terms. The Company, dissatisfied with this unsettled State of their Privileges, determined the same Year to send an Embassy to the Court of *Delhi*, who, after an Attendance of two Years on the Mogul, and at a very great Expence, obtained the following Phirmaund:

BENGAL,

BENGAL, BEHAR, and OUDEISA,
(Orixa)

To all Governors and their Assistants, Intelligencers, Jageerdars, Phousdars, Collectors, Guardians of the Ways, Keepers of Passages, and Zemindars, that are at present or hereafter may come in the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Oudeisa, (Orixa) at the Port of Hughly, &c. Ports in the Provinces aforesaid,

BY these Presents KNOW YE, from the Favour of the Imperial Majesty, that at this Time of Conquest, and in this flourishing Reign, Mr. *John Surman* and *Coja Sirbaud*, Gomastahs (Factors) of the *English* Company, have humbly presented their Petition, setting forth,

That, according to Sultan Azzeem Sha Behauder, his, and former Sunods, they are free of Customs throughout the whole

whole conquered Empire, the Port of *Surat* EXCEPTED; and that they do annually pay into the Treasury at the Port of *Hugbly* a Pishcash of three thousand Rupees, in Lieu of Customs. They hope that, according to the Tenor of former Sunnods, they may be favoured with a gracious Phirmaund, confirming them.

Commanded and ordered, that all their mercantile Affairs, together with their Gomastahs (Factors) have Free Liberty in all Subahships to pass and repass to and fro, either by Land or Water, in any Port or District throughout the several Provinces abovesaid, and know they are Custom free. That they have full Power and Liberty to buy and sell, at their Will and Pleasure; and that there yearly be received into the Treasury a Pishcash of three thousand Rupees, as has been customary heretofore; that if in any Place, or at any Time, Robberies are committed on their Goods,
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they be assisted in the getting of them again ; that the Robbers be brought to Justice, and the Goods be delivered to the Proprietors of them.

In whatsoever Place they have a Mind to settle a Factory, fairly to buy and sell Goods in, they have Liberty and be assisted. That on whomsoever, Merchants, Weavers, &c. they have any Demands, on whatsoever Account, let them be aided, and their Debtors brought to come to a true and fair Account ; and be made to give their Gomastahs (Factors) their right and just Demands. That no Persons be suffered to injure and molest their Gomastahs (Factors) wrongfully and unjustly, and for Customs on hired Boats (Cutbarrah) &c. belonging to them, that they be not in any Manner molested or obstructed.

They further petition that if the Petty Duans of Subahships demand a Sight of the original Sunnods and Perwannas under the Seals of the Duans and Subahs,
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the original Sunnods cannot possibly be produced in every Place, without a great Deal of Difficulty. They desire that a Copy from under the Seal of the chief Cauzee be sufficient; a Sight of the original Sunnods not being demanded, nor they forced to take Sunnods and Perwannas under the Duan and Suba their Seals.

That the Renting of *Calcutta*, *Sutoo-luta*, and *Govindpore*, in the Purgana of *Ameirabaud*, &c. in *Bengal*, were formerly granted them, and bought by Consent from the Zemindars of them, and are now in the Company's possession, for which they Yearly pay the Sum Rs. 1195. 6. That thirty-eight Towns more, amounting to Rs. 8121. 8. adjoining to the aforesaid Towns, which they hope the Renting of may be granted, and added to the others they are already possessed of. That they will pay annually the same Amount for them.

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COMMANDED, That the Copy under the Seal of the Cauzee be regarded. That the old Towns, formerly bought by them, remain in their Hands as heretofore, and that they have the Renting of the adjacent Towns petitioned for, which they are to buy from the respective Owners of them, and that the Duan Subah give Permission.

They still petition, that from the Reign of *Aureng Zeb*, *Madrafs* Coin were received into the Treasuries of Subahships for under Value, and are still, notwithstanding they are full as valuable as Surat Rupees are, whereby they are great Losers. They hope the Imperial Order may be given for them to be received into the Treasuries as Surat Rupees are, in Case they are as good. That any Person being Servant to the Company, eloping from them, from whom Debts and Accounts are due, they desire that whosoever so deserts, be delivered back to the Chief of their Factory. That their
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Gomastahs and Servants are molested and troubled for Phoufdarry, (Abval namma) &c. Impositions which they request they may be exempted from.

COMMANDED and ordered, that from the fifth Year of this blessed Reign, if *Madras* Rupees are made of the same Goodness with Surat Siccas, there be no Discount on them. That whosoever of the Company's Servants being Debtors, desert them, seize them and deliver them up to the Chief of their Factory, that they be not molested for Phoufdarry, (Abval namma) &c. Impositions.

They petition, that in *Bengal*, *Behar*, and *Oudeisa*, (Orixa) the Company have Factories, and that in other Places they likewise design to settle Factories; they accordingly desire, that in any Place where they have a mind to settle Factories, they may have forty Begaes of Ground given them for the same. That it often happens Ships at Sea meet with

tempestuous Winds, and are forced into Ports, and are sometimes drove ashore and wrecked; the Governors of Ports injuriously seize on the Cargoes of them, and in some Places demand a quarter Part Salvage: that on the Island of *Bombay*, belonging to the *English*, *European* Siccas are current. They request that, according to the Custom of *Madras*, they may at *Bombay* coin Siccas.

COMMANDED and ordered, that according to Custom of their Factories in other Subahships execute. These People having their Factories in several Ports of the Kingdom, and Commerce to the Place of the royal Residence, and have obtained very favourable Phirmaunds, Custom free.

Let there be particular Care taken that there be duly Assistance given them about Goods and Wrecks, on all Occasions. On the Island of *Bombay* let there be the glorious Stamp on the Siccas
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coined there, passing them current as all other Siccas are throughout the whole Empire.

To all these render punctual Obedience, observing and acting pursuant to the Tenor of this gracious Phirmaund, and not contrary in any Respect whatsoever, nor demand Yearly new Sunnods. Regard this particularly well.

Written the 27th of the Moon Mohurum, in the 5th Year of this glorious and ever happy Reign.

This Phirmaund, as far as it regarded a free Trade, in Articles of Export and Import, for some Years obtained Obedience from the Subahs of the Provinces, but in 1736 *Nadir Shah*, King of *Persia*, invading *India*, gave the fatal Blow to the Mogul Power. The Governors of the distant Provinces detained the Whole, or great Part of the Revenues, which they employed in maintaining Forces to defend themselves against other neighbouring Subahs,

bahs, and against the Emperor himself ; each endeavouring to form an independent Government hereditary in his own Family. By this Change of System, those Subahs, who before maintained a small Army of four or five thousand Men, sufficient to answer the Purpose of collecting the Revenues, now kept up Armies of 50000 to 100000 Men, and maintained more splendid Courts ; the ordinary Revenues of the Provinces would not supply these vast Expences ; new Exactions were imposed ; the Lands felt the Burthen by new Taxes, and the Trade by new Oppressions, with this aggravating Circumstance, that there remained no more Hope for Redress from the Court of *Delhi* ; the Governors, with Independance, acquired Strength to force Submission to their Demands, and our Phirmaund Privileges met with no more Respect from the Subahs than the Mogul's, from whose Authority they were derived. From the Year 1736 the Company were exposed to
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very heavy Contributions, more particularly in *Bengal*, where scarce a Year passed that the Government did not demand very great Sums of them ; and on their Refusal they were forbid all Trade; their Factories were surrounded by Forces, and a Delay or Resistance served only to incense the Government, and augment their Demands. Our Phirmaund Privileges became almost annihilated, or rather the Source of more oppressive Grievances ; for as they did not admit our Claim to trade free of Customs, and as the Company would by no means submit to yield up their Rights, there remained no Rule to go by, but every Collector extorted what he could from the Company's Agents, and where they had not Force to protect their Trade, they were not only exposed to the most grievous Extortions in Lieu of Duties, but the Men and Officers who conveyed the Boats with Goods, often met with the most ignominious Treatment: such was the State of our Trade
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and Privileges in *Bengal*, when *Surajah Dowla* succeeded to the Government in 1756. Before, or soon after this Period, our Situation in the other Parts of *India* underwent an entire Change; the Oppressions of the Government at *Surat*, forced us, for the Protection of our Commerce, to possess ourselves of the Castle, which was all the End it answer'd; for the Expence of maintaining it proved more than the Revenues arising from the Command it gave us in the City. On the Coast of *Coromandel* the ambitious Projects of Mr. *Dupleix* had already forced us into a War, not merely to protect our Commerce, but to prevent the *French* becoming Sovereigns of the *Carnatic*, and our Company their Vassals. The War with *France*, and the Siege and Defence of *Pondicherry* in 1748, had brought a considerable *European* Force to *India*. *Dupleix* was the first who discovered the Superiority of *European* Troops; he saw also the Necessity of a territorial Revenue to maintain a respectable

able Military Force in such a distracted State of the Empire, the Expence of which could not be supported by the Profits of a very limited Capital in Trade; and on these two Principles he determined to attempt the Acquisition of a territorial Revenue.

The death of *Nizam ul Mulluck*, the great Subah of the Decan in 1748, gave Rise to a Competition for the Succession to his Government, between *Nazir Jung*, his second Son, and *Mozaffer Jung*, his Nephew. The last of whom sought the Assistance of the *French*, and *Dupleix* gladly, and boldly embraced the Opportunity that offered of accomplishing his Views. *Mozaffer Jung*, in Virtue of his having assumed the Title of Subah of the Decan, gave a Grant of the Government of the *Carnatick* to one of his Adherents, named *Chundasabeb*: The Grant of an acknowledged Subah had little Weight in the *Carnatick*, now governed by *Aniwerdin Cawn*, who held it by the

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Appointment of *Nizamul Mulluck*, and who esteemed *Nazir Jung* the lawful Successor, both by his Father's Will, and by the Confirmation of the Mogul. *Chundasabeb* had therefore recourse to the *French*, who had acquired a great military Reputation by the Defence of *Pondicherry*; *Dupleix* supported him with a Batallion, by whose Assistance *Aniverden Caron* was defeated and killed in Battle; his eldest Son, *Mahmud Ally*, escaped and flung himself into *Tritchinapaly*, a strong fortified City, where he prepared for his Defence.

Dupleix's Services were rewarded by a Grant from the unacknowledged Subah of eighty-one Villages; and by a Treaty with the King of *Tanjore*, they dismembered eighty-one more from his Dominions. These pretensions had soon a further Sanction by the Success of their Arms, and Intrigues against the real Subah of the Decan, by which their Ally *Mozaffer Jung*, who had been made Prisoner by his Rival, became the Subah of the Decan.

Decan, and in the first Flow of Gratitude, made *Dupleix* Governor of all the Country, South of the *Kristna*, who was to account for the Revenues, not to the Mogul but to the Subah; besides which, their Grants of Land were considerably extended, insomuch, that they soon set up their Flags round the Company's Fortifications at St. *David's*, and the *English* saw themselves on the Point of holding the Liberty of Trade, and even their Continuance in the Country, at the Pleasure of the *French*. This Exigency forced them to take Part in the War in the *Carnatick*, which still subsisted between *Mahomed Ally*, and *Gbunda Sabe*, the former yet maintaining himself in *Tritchynopoly*, and possessing other strong Holds in the *Carnatick*; this gave Rise to the War that lasted between the two Companies, who acted as Auxiliaries, from the Year 1749 to 1755, which is most faithfully related in one of the best Written Histories of the Age, published for

Nourse, in 1762. The *French* Company were countenanced by their Government, and successful in their first Attempts, which furnished them with Treasures and Revenues ; they were constantly superior in Numbers in the Field, and had Resources from their Islands, which gave them Advantages we could not possess. The *English* had no Resources but in the very Difficulties they had to struggle against. These produced Efforts that always rose superior to them. Geniuses sprung up from among their own Military, and from their own Servants, who led their Troops with a Skill and Intrepidity that would have ranked them among the best Officers of this Country, had the same Actions been performed in the King's Service ; and their Councils were conducted with a Firmness and sound Policy that would have done Honour to any Government. The severe War, thus necessarily carried on, by the Company, in Defence of their Commercial Rights, and to check
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the Encroachment of the *French*, while the Nation was in profound Peace, terminated in 1754, in a Suspension of Arms, after having involved the Company in a very heavy Loss, incurred by the Expences of sending out Recruits and Military Stores; besides a Debt of near a Million Sterling, then due from the Nabob; the only Acquisitions made by the Company were the Districts of *Pooncemal-
lec*, near *Madrafs* and *Irwendiporum*, contiguous to Fort St. *David*, which were granted by the Nabob in the Commencement of the War, towards defraying the Expences of their Forces, and were estimated at about 18000l. per Annum. These trifling Grants contributed but little to the Company's Indemnification, while the *French* were left in Possession of a Revenue, to the amount of 800000l. per Annum, arising from the Lands they held in the *Carnatick*, and four large Districts, which they held in *Golconda*. To the actual Losses sustained by this War, must also be
added

added what the Company suffered by failing in their returning Cargoes; those Countries involved in War, and the manufacturing Parts mostly in actual Possession of the *French*; together with the Company's Funds, being diverted to other Purposes, they hardly received half a Cargo in the Year from the Coast of *Coromandel*; yet during these Distresses which forced the Directors in 1755 to reduce the Dividend from 8 to 6 per Cent, the Public who had contributed nothing to the Support of the War, continued to enjoy an uninterrupted Revenue of more than a Million, from the Trade.

The Tranquility which this Truce was productive of, was but of a very short Duration. *Surajah Dowla*, who succeeded to the Subahship of *Bengal*, on a sudden turned his whole Force against our Settlements; took them from us, and forced the few surviving Inhabitants to take Refuge on Board their Ships in the *Ganges*. Many Causes have been assigned for the Nabob's

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Conduct; what they were must be matter of Opinion; it seems most probable, that amongst many concurring Circumstances, his Desire of carrying his Arms towards *Delhi*, was a Principal Motive, and the War carried on by *Europeans* in the *Decan* and *Carnatick*, made him think it proper to put it entirely out of our Power to disturb him in his Absence; he thought also to possess himself of a great Quantity of Cannon and Military Stores for his future Expedition, and expected to get an immense Booty, which Consideration alone would have urged him to the Violation of every Duty he owed as a Prince, to a People, whose Commerce had been the great Support of the Revenues of the Country; and whose Privileges were more Constitutionally established than his own Succession to the Government. There was now a Squadron and a Regiment of the King's in *India*; a Detachment from the Regiment and six hundred of the Company's Troops embarked on the Squadron,

dron, and on the Company's Ships at *Madras*, and soon recovered the Settlements; defeated the Nabob; and obtained an advantageous Treaty; soon after which the War breaking out in *Europe*, the King's Ships and the Company's Forces, attacked and took the *French* Settlement of *Chandemagore*. The certain Proofs which the *English* had of the Nabob's Intentions to attack them as soon as their Troops left the *Ganges*, forced them to have again recourse to Arms, to which they were invited by Proposals from *Meer Jaffier*, one of his Officers, who made them very advantageous Offers for their Support and Assistance, in his Views to the Subahship; the Battle of *Plassey* accomplished his, and their Views; the Company obtained the Confirmation of all their Commercial Privileges; an Indemnification of their Losses by the Capture of *Calcutta*; and a Zemin-dary, or Farm of a small Tract of Land, which it was hoped might yield a Revenue sufficient to support such a Garrison as should

should preserve them from the Attempts of future Subahs. *Meer Jaffir* succeeded to the Subaship, as free and independent as his Predecessor, and the Company returned into their former commercial Character, only subject to be called on to take the Field at the Nabob's Expence, whenever he required their Assistance. This happy Situation of the Company's Affairs, in *Bengal*, enabled them to turn all their Efforts against our national Enemy the *French*. Their great Armament under *Lally* sufficiently declared they had adopted the ambitious Views of *Dupleix*, in their utmost Extent. They already possessed four great Provinces in *Golconda*, and gave Law to the Decan, by the Influence Mr. *Bussy* acquired at the Court of the Subah *Salabut Jung*; and they now flattered themselves they should not only extirpate the *English* from all *India*; but that they should form a Chain of Conquest, that should unite *Bengal* and the

Carnatick into one Dominion. The King's Squadron being reinforced, stood the first Shock of this Armament at Sea; but the Company had the Whole to sustain in their own Strength by Land: for the Regiment I before mentioned, already much reduced in Numbers, was ordered Home, and the Company for some Months, had only their own Forces left.

I shall not here enter into any invidious Enquiry, whether the Squadron, the King's or the Company's Troops had most Merit in defeating this formidable Armament. It is sufficient to observe, that they all united in their Efforts against the common Enemy. *Draper's* Regiment served with great Honour in the Defence of *Madrafs*; the Squadron sustained several severe Actions at Sea; but the Expedition to *Golconda* under Colonel *Ford*, the most important in its Consequences, and the most perfect in its Success, was entirely an Effort of the Com-

Company's, and extirminated the *French* from the *Decan* and *Golconda*, and Lord *Clive* maintained our Influence in *Bengal* by the Weight of his own Abilities and Reputation. Thus, by the Wisdom with which the Company's Councils were conducted; by the Zeal, the Courage and Abilities which distinguished the Governors and Officers who commanded the Troops, *Pondicherry* fell; and the *French* were driven from the whole Continent of *India*. Altho' the Company owed much to the Support and Protection of Government, during this active War, yet to our Administration at Home it is owing that the fatal final Blow was not given to the *French* Power in *India*. Nothing remained to perfect our Success but to turn our whole Force against the Islands: had this been done, nothing had been wanting to insure our future Security. This was well understood in *England*, and Orders were sent to the Squadron in *India*, to sail to an appointed

Station, where they were to have been joined by Forces from *Europe*. The Squadron failed and cruized many Months, expecting the promised Succours, during which they suffered greater Losses both in Men, and by Damage which their Ships sustained, than upon the whole Service in *India*; but the Expectation of the Succour proved fruitless, as distant Conquest would not at that Time have answered the particular Views of Individuals in *Europe*: the Mob wanted Bonfires, and the Thunder of the Park Guns was necessary to keep up the Intoxication of the Nation: *Belleisle* became the Object, because it would be productive of more immediate Success, and the disappointed, shattered Squadron, returned to *India*. Yet this did not deter the Company from entering into the Views of Administration, even when it was repugnant to their Interest. Upon the breaking out of the *Spanish*
War

War the Company gave up their favorite Object, the *French* Islands, in which they were so much interested, to comply with the Desire of Government, in attacking the *Manillas*, by which they risked their Possessions in *India*, and from which they could derive no one Advantage, but that of shewing their Readiness to coincide with the Views of Administration for the public Service. An Expedition which cost them an immense Sum, and by weakening their Force in *India* laid the Foundation of the Rebellion of *Mahmud Ifoff Cawn*, a revolted Commander of their black Troops, against the Nabob of the *Carnatick*, which nearly proved fatal to their Affairs. This too was happily concluded, and *Mahmud Ally*, whom we had supported through a War with little Intermission, from the Year 1749, attended with various Changes of Fortune; but with the most uninterrupted Friendship that ever was known

known in any political Connection, was in the End put into the Possession of the whole *Carnatick*. Had the Company entertained Ideas of Conquest, never could a fairer Opportunity present itself than occurred in the total Expulsion of the *French* from *India*, at the Reduction of *Pondicherry*. But, as they had originally entered into the War merely in Support of *Mahmud Ally*, and in Defence of their commercial Rights, Security to those, and a reasonable Indemnification for their Losses, was all they aspired to. Consistent with these Ideas they put the Nabob in Possession of the whole Country, and were contented to receive from him such a Compensation as his Gratitude might suggest. Impressed with the highest Sense of the Services rendered him by the Company, the Nabob, in 1763, voluntarily added as a Jaghire, certain Districts contiguous to the ancient Bounds of *Madras*,

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to which he has since added other Grants, in all, to the Value of about 200,000*l.* *per Annum*, which in his Grant he expresses to be in Consideration of the great Services rendered to him by the Company; their firm Friendship; and the Dependence he has on their always remaining in Alliance with him, and supporting his Family.

In *Bengal* there was not that Harmony between the Subah and the *English*, that was experienced in the *Carnatick*, and which had there contributed so much to the mutual Strength of the Nabob and of the Company.

The large Sums stipulated by the Treaty with *Meer Jaffir* did not fail to create Jealousy and Endeavours to evade the Payment. Lord *Clive*, by his Firmness, obtained a temporary Assignment of the Revenues of three large Districts, for the Discharge of the Money due by that Treaty; and as he had already projected the Expedition against the *French*

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in *Golconda*, which I have before mentioned, he strengthened the *English* Interest by a Connection with the Governor of *Patna*. On the Faith of this Connection he hazarded the sending away two Thirds, and those the Choice of the Troops in *Bengal*, under Colonel *Ford*, to *Golconda*.

Meer Jaffir's Government being not yet thoroughly established and our Forces very weak, the Son of the Mogul, called the *Shahzadah* (or Prince) who had been driven from Court by the Vizier, *Gauze ó Din Cawn*, who kept the Emperor, his Father, a kind of State Prisoner, entered the *Bengal* Provinces, at the Head of an Army. The effectual Assistance the *English* gave the Nabob on this Occasion, repulsed the Prince and established *Meer Jaffir* in his Government, and confirmed the *English* Influence and Importance in the Country. Yet before the Year closed the Company's Existence in *Bengal* was again at Stake

Stake by the *Dutch* Armament. The Object was, no Doubt, to contest the Superiority with us in that Province. Superior as they were, both in Ships and Troops, they were defeated by the Company's Troops under Colonel *Ford*, who was just arrived in *Bengal*, from his successful Expedition against the *French*, in *Golconda*.

Lord *Clive* left the Country soon after this event, which probably encouraged the Shahzadah to make another effort, in which he was again repulsed; tho' not till he had penetrated very far into the Country, and held *Meer Jassir's* Government in such suspense, as brought him into great Distress by the Revolt of his Officers, and the Detention of the Revenues by all the Landholders, who never fail to avail themselves of the Weakness of Government. The Defence of the Provinces fell almost entirely on the *English* Troops, who agreeable to the Articles of a Treaty before mention-

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ed, were to be at the Nabob's Expence ; but whether from *Meer Jaffir's* Mismanagement, or from the real Distress his Country was involved in, he fell much in Arrears on this Account, which brought the Company into great Difficulties ; so that the Governor and the Committee, in whom the Company's Power was lodged, thought themselves justified in taking such Measures as brought on a Revolution in favour of *Meer Jaffir's* Son-in-Law, *Cossim Ally Cawn*, with whom a new Treaty was made, which had for principal Object, the securing to the Company a Fund for the certain Payment of the Troops kept up for the Nabob's Defence ; the Expence of which was encreased beyond all Comparison, to what it was in Lord *Clive's* Time ; and for this purpose, the Revenues of the three Provinces of *Burdwan*, *Midnapore*, and *Chittagong*, valued at forty Laacks of Rupees, or 500000l. were assigned over to the Company, who collected the

Rents

Rents upon the Conditions expressed in the following Articles :

“ The *Europeans* and *Telingas* of the
 “ *English* Army, shall be ready to assist
 “ the Nabob, *Meer Mahomed*, *Cossim*
 “ *Khan*, *Bahadar*, in the Management
 “ of all Affairs, and in all Affairs depen-
 “ dant on him they shall exert themselves
 “ to the utmost of their Abilities.

“ For all Charges of the Company,
 “ and of the said Army, and Provisions
 “ for the Field, &c. the Lands of *Burd-*
 “ *wan*, *Midnapore*, and *Chittagong*, shall
 “ be assigned, and Sunnods for that pur-
 “ pose shall be written and granted. The
 “ Company is to stand to all Losses, and
 “ receive all the Profits of these three Coun-
 “ tries, and we will demand no more than
 “ the three Assignments aforesaid.”

The Shahzadah again made another effort, joined by a Body of *French*, under the Command of Mr. *Law* ; he was entirely defeated, Mr. *Law* and his Party

taken Prisoners, and the Shahzadah disbanded his Troops, and desired to continue under the *English* Protection; soon after his Father being put to Death by the Vizier *Gauzo Din Khan*, he was proclaimed Mogul, and marched into the Dominions of *Sujab Dowla*, the Subah of the next Provinces, whom he appointed Vizier, and with whom he proposed proceeding to *Delhi*.

If the Safety of Commerce was incompatible with the political State of the Country, when the Mogul Empire fell into Confusion by the Invasion of *Nadir Shah*, the present political System in *Bengal* was equally repugnant to every idea of Government. It was an *imperium in imperio* of a very singular kind. By the Treaty with *Cossim Ally Cawn*, three rich Provinces were assigned for the maintaining an Army, which he no longer desired to see in his Country; for *Cossim Ally Cawn*, an ambitious Man, thus raised to the Government, viewed with a jealous
Eye

Eye that Power to which he owed his Dignity ; and his first Acts of Government manifested his Intention to assert his Independance ; he first broke our Connections in his Country, and then applied himself to the Forming an Army, armed and trained like our Troops ; but before he had brought them to that Perfection he purposed, the Disputes between him and the *English* arising partly from mutual Jealousy, and partly from the Encroachments of the *English* in their Trade, brought on a Rupture sooner than he intended ; and the *English* were seized and made Prisoners throughout the Provinces.

As we did not mean to conquer for ourselves but to establish a Country Power under whom we could carry on our Commerce with Security, *Meer Jaffir* was again acknowledged ; and he obtained the Subahship after a very severe Struggle, which ended in the Expulsion of *Cossim Ally*.

The *English* now perceived what they might have discerned long before that
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their Situation was such, that they could trust no Nabob, nor could any Nabob trust them. That Military Force which was at first found necessary for the Protection of Commerce, and which could not be supported without a territorial Revenue, was by the Weakness of the Country Government, found equal to the enthroning and dethroning of Nabobs. For the Company to be less than they were, was to be nothing. Their political and military Strength were their only Support. Weaken these, and their Commerce was at the Mercy of the first Nabob, whose Wickedness or Necessity should prompt him, like *Surajah Dowla*, to seize their Property, and extirminate them from the Country.

To retrieve these Errors, the Company's Agents, in their Treaty with *Meer Jaffir*, converted the temporary Assignment, to a perpetual one, and limited the Number of Forces the Nabob should keep up. This fixed the Power paramount in the *English*, where it must necessarily be, as
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the Defence of the Provinces lay entirely upon them. The Expulsion of *Cossim Ally Cawn*, gave Rise to a more dangerous War than they had ever yet sustained; he sought the Protection of *Sujab Dowla*, the Subah of the neighbouring Provinces of *Oude* and *Lucknow*, and flattered himself with the easy Conquest of the *Bengal* Provinces. Here the Company's whole Property in the Country was again at Stake, and though their Arms prevailed in the Battle of *Buxar*, in which they had 3000 Men killed and wounded, *Sujab Dowla* was yet at the Head of an Army, and the Revenues of *Bengal* were spent in maintaining Forces in a Foreign Country, and in a War which had no fixed Object, when it ceased to be defensive: The Company did not want to conquer *Sujab Dowla's* Country, yet as he still refused them Terms of Peace, their Servants thought themselves justified in driving him to Extremities, and entered into Engagements with the Mogul to reduce

duce that Country to Obedience to his Majesty's Orders. The Mogul, who as before mentioned, intended proceeding to *Delhi*, was still in *Sujab Dowla's* Dominions; his Title was generally acknowledged; Siccas (Coin) struck every where in his Name, and his Son acted as Regent at *Delhi*; but as he had not been able to raise an Army sufficient to establish his Authority over the revolted Subahs, he had remained with *Sujab Dowla*, whom he had been obliged to accompany in his Expedition against the *Bengal* Provinces, tho' undertaken without his Approbation, which he signified in various Letters to our Commanding Officer, and after the Battle of *Buxar* joined our Army. *Sujab Dowla* continued to make every effort worthy his exalted Rank, and the high Character he bore in the Empire, but these were vain against the great Force which opposed him; not less than 15000 Men, besides the Subah's Troops, well disciplined and

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conducted with far superior military Skill. His last Effort was to call in the *Morattas*, who not being able to make Head against the Armies which opposed them, he determined to deliver himself up to the *English*, which he did on the Borders of the *Agra* Province, in *May* 1765, the same Day Lord *Clive* arrived at *Calcutta*. Three Months before his Lordship's Arrival, *Meer Jaffir* died, and his Son was acknowledged Subah.

Some Months previous to *Meer Jaffir's* Death, the Company's Servants finding the Army so considerably increased, and acting at such a great Distance from the Settlement, that the Expence far exceeded the Revenues of the three Provinces, assigned the Company by former Treaty, obtained from *Meer Jaffir* an additional Assignment of five Laacks of Rupees *per* Month, to maintain a Body of Horse, to act under the Orders of their Officers, to enable them to carry on the War more effectually against *Sujab*

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Dowla ;

Dowla; and even this did not suffice, but they were sinking every Month from 40 to 50000l. of their Capital.

Lord *Clive* soon discerned the *Labyrinth* in which the Company's Affairs were involved, he found the *English* possess'd an over-ruling Influence unlimited, undefined, which broke down the Country Government, yet substituted nothing in its stead. He found the Nabob a Prince, in a despotic Government, without the Choice of his Ministers and without Power to controul them; possessed of a Revenue of near two Millions Sterling, *per Annum*, without Troops to defend it, and many Millions of Subjects, without Power to protect them: he found the Success of our Arms promised nothing but future Wars; the ruining *Sujab Dowla* was breaking down the strongest Barrier the *Bengal* Provinces could have against the Invasions of the *Morattas*, *Auffghuns*, and other Powers, who had so long desolated the Northern Provinces. The Mogul, whose Cause
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the Company was supporting, was found utterly incapable of collecting the Revenues of *Sujab Dowla's* Country, without the Assistance of their whole Force. Their Connections with the Mogul could not have ended here; they must have proceeded with him to *Delhi*, and have established his Authority in the Empire. To stop this Career to Ruin, Lord *Clive* determined to restore *Sujab Dowla* to his Country, who alone was capable of maintaining it; to satisfy the Mogul by obtaining a more ample Revenue for him, which might furnish him the Means of raising an Army to march to *Delhi*; and to obtain from his Majesty what had been before repeatedly offered to the Company, the Office of King's Duan. By the Constitution of the Empire, the Offices of Nabob and Duan were two distinct Authorities; that of the Nabob was chief, civil Governor and Commander of the Troops, with a Jag-hire, or Estate annexed to the Office, as a Salary, but no Power over any other

Branch of the Revenues. The Office of Duan was to receive the Revenues, and account for them to the Emperor. The Phirmaund for this important Office, expresses it to be a free Gift, with an Exemption from the Payment of the Customs of the Duanee, which used to be paid to the Court. “ It is requisite that
 “ the said Company engage to be Security
 “ for the Sum of 26 Laacks *per Ann.* which
 “ Sum has been appointed from the Nabob
 “ *Nudjem ul Dowla*, (the Subah of *Bengal*)
 “ and regularly remit the same to the royal
 “ Treasury, and in this Case, as the said
 “ Company are obliged to keep up a large
 “ Army for the Protection of the Provinces
 “ of *Bengal*, &c. We have granted them
 “ whatever may remain out of the Revenues of the said Provinces, after remitting the Sum of 26 Laacks of Rupees
 “ to the royal Treasury, and providing for
 “ the Expence of the Nazamut, or civil
 “ Government, &c. This last Article was
 complied with by a Treaty with the Subah,

bah, by which we engaged to pay him 53 Laacks of Rupees, for the Expence of the civil Government, and for the Support of his Dignity.

By these wise Measures the Mogul secured a certain Revenue ; the Nabob was left in a Situation suitable to his Rank, and to the Constitution of the Empire ; and the Remainder of the Revenue was assigned to the Company for Support of the Armies necessary for the Defence of the Provinces ; but collected by the Nabob and his Ministers as heretofore, who account to the Company, as holding the Office of Duan : they may censure or applaud the Ministers, but have no Right to collect the Revenues, or administer Justice in the Provinces.

I have now brought the Company's Situation down to the present Time ; and I flatter myself, that whoever shall disinterestedly peruse these few Sheets, will be convinced, that the Wars which they have been engaged in, have had for Ob-
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ject wholly the Defence of their Property, against the Oppressions of the Country Governments and the Encroachments of the *French*; and that they may be deemed by the Public to have some Merit, from the great Share which they bore in the general Success of the late War; in having totally extirminated the *French* from the whole Continent of *India*. I have now concluded the first Part of my Vindication of the Company; my next Attempt will be, to consider the modern Doctrines, founded on the Necessities of the State.

F I N I S.